

A COPIE OF A LETTRE

WRITTEN BY AN EN-
glish Gentleman, out of the
campe of the lovv cōtreys, vnto
the Reuerend, Master Doctor
Allain, tovvching the act of ren-
ding the Tovvne of Deuenter
to other places, vnto the Ca-
thol. King: and his ansvverre
and resolution vnto the same.

1587.





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THE LETTER.

RIGHT worshipful and Reue-
rend Sir, the report of your cor-
tesie and great charitie towarde al
your countrey men in banishmēt, hath
made me bold to breake with you in a
matter that toucheth me, and many.

And it is a case of conscience and honor
which my self, and diuers Gentlemen
my felowe souldiars, vpon the special con-
fidence we haue of your knoweledge and
sinceritye doe referre wholly to your ru-
ling, and resolucion: the determinacion
whereof shal not onely give vs good rest
of minde, but maye be a rule to o-
thers of our condition, howe to behaue
them selves in the like case hereafter.

Good M. Doctor, though we be not of
your peculiar charge, as moste clearkes
and scholars of our countrey be, yet of

A 2 your

your zeale and pietye have some care in
this kinde of vs souldiars, amonge whom
me I can well assure you, many doe love
and honour you, and not a fewe much in-
clined to aduaunce the catholike sayth.

In breyf Sir, you have hearde how
the worthy Knyght S^r V William Stan-
ley, M^r Captayne Yorks, with certeyn
other Capitaines and Gentlemen of
me, and valure, have yelded vpp the ci-
tie of Daentre, with other important
pieces committed to their custodie by
the Quene, and her deputyes, in these
partes, to the Duke of Parma, Govern-
our of the lowe countries for the King
of Spayne, and withall have put the
selves, and a number of stoute fellows
of their charge, to his highnesse service.

Nowe of this facte so many as be
perfect Catholikes, make no scruple, ex-
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ther of conscience, or honour, assuring
 them selves, the thing to be most lawfull
 and honorable: yet some not so entier in
 religion, that followe their Coronell of
 love, rather then for respecte of iustice
 are not perhapps so fully satisfied for
 the lawfullnes of the action: and our
 enemyes bothe at home and abroode
 being much anoyed in their affayers
 thereby, and fearige lest others may fol
 low this example: infame our doinge
 with all diligence, callinge it treason
 to our Prince and countreye, pariurye,
 infidelitye, and slaunderous in the
 sight of the world to the English name
 and nation.

Good Sir, make vs cleare this
 poynt, if it be not troublesome vnto
 you, with as much speede as maye
 be, that as well by your grave au
 thoritye, as by your grounded reasons,

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We may satisfye honest mennes consciences, and defend our doings against the calumniations of our aduersaries.

And yf withall you send such two learned and godly priestes, as S^r William Stanley expecteth at your hands they shal finde I dare warrant the very ripe and plentifful harveste to labour in, and be welcome to many hundred soules, greedily expectinge instruction to their salvation. Here the good men may worke with no lesse fruct then in England yt self, and with much more safety. And thus recommending myself, and our saide cause vnto your favour: I committe you vnto the protection of the Almyghty. At Bruxels, this xx. of Maye, 1587.

Yours to be commanded

N. R.

HO.

THE ANSWERE.



HONORABLE good Sir
 your letters came vwith
 good speede, and in season,
 havinge at this present rea-
 dye meanes to retourne an-
 swere, and yet tyme yn owghe to waighe
 wel the matter of questiō you move vn-
 to me. Into the more particular confide-
 ration whereof I wil enter the rather at
 your request, though otherwise by the
 dutye of my priesthood and profession
 I compte my self bounde to serve my
 christian countryemē, in al suche things
 as maye any waye apperteyne to their
 salvation. For you must not thinke, that
 I am so restrayned to studentes matters,
 though that be my special trade, ād char-
 ge, that I haue no care of so many wor-
 thy men of your vocation, whom with
 harte, prayers, and peine, I doe most wil-
 lingly serve, knowing that state of lyfe
 to be very necessary for the comō wealth
 very godly, honorable, and especially ap-
 poynted by God for defence of iustice,
 and religiō. Out of which order the

VIII.

Many soul
diars grea
te Sainc-
tes and
martyrs.

44.10.

churche of Christe celebrateth fondly
for high Sainctes, and whole legions ha-
ve bene for their constancye in fayth
martyred at once: many in the holy scrip-
tures for singular deuotion towards
Christes person, and speciall prōptenesse
to receiue the fayth by the Apostles pre-
ching, by name cōmended. And remem-
bring in S. Lukes narratiō of the holy Ca-
pitaine Cornelius, and of one of his souldi-
ars, whom the Euangelist nameth *Mi-
litem timentem Deum*, a Souldiar fearing
God, it easlye brought me to conceive,
that sundrie of your bande in whose be-
halfe you propose the doubte, haue the
feare of God before their eyes, which is a
peerelesse prayse in suche as followe ar-
te militare, and that the whole cōpanye is
not farre from the kingdome of God, that
haue such regarde of their cōscience, and
good name. To cōme then to your pur-
pose, though I haue alreadye by my let-
ters to Sr William given my opinion,
I will yet for better clearinge the cause
sett here downe my minde more largely

IX.

and distinctly.

Therefore first I saye, that the réderinge vppe of suche tounes and places of the lowe coutrye, as be in any English mēes custodie, is not onely lawful, but necessarily to be done vnder payne of mortal sinne, and dānatiō. The cause is, for that euery thinge wrōgefully obtained, and vniustly detayned frō the true owners, wheher they be by fraud or violēce come by, accordinge to al diuine and humane lawes, and by the very rule of nature, owght to be restored to thē, to whō they duely pertainē. Which thinge as it is euidēt in al other negotiation of mānes lyfe, wherein no mā maye lawfully deteyne other mēes goodes, so the olde holy fathers and al the later schole doctors agreeably to the scriptures, and the ciuile and canō lawes, determine restitution to be specially necessary of al thinges wrōgefully obteyned in warres, whether the warres be lawfull or vnlawfull. For warres beinge nothinge els but an acte of vindicatiue iustice must as much as is possible, be in al poītes voide of iniurye and iniustice, against

Readeringe vppe of tounes vvronge fully houlden to be necessarie vnder payne of damnation.

Restitutiō of thinges vvronge fully deteyned necessarye in all vvarres iuste or iniuste.

against which when any thinge is committed, eyther by the Prince that caused the warre, or the soldjours that are executioners of his wil and sentēce, both the one and the other are bound to make recompence and restitution, accordinge to the measure and maner of the iniurie done. And this I saye euen in lawefull warres, or suche as to the comon people maye be vpo their Princes credit so deemed: where, though they may offend the enemye in lyfe, goodes, liberti, and otherwise as farr and in such sorte as the lawe of armes permitteth, and prescribeth: yet what soever is done against militare discipline and iustice, is sinne and punishable by Gods lawes.

In warres plainli vn iust, recompence and restitutio is to be made off damage, and thigs vnjustly detained.

But where the warre is wholly and plainly vnlawful, denounced and vvaged vvithout iust cause, yea evidently against right and reason, and so knowen to be to men of vnderstandinge, and to the soldiars themselves: in that case the Prince that publisheth the warre, doth principally, and most damnably offend: then, euery

one that serveth in those vvarres, doth
 die mortally, and all and eueri one bound
 to satisfaction and restitution, for what
 ever anoyance is done by the said vn
 lawfull armes, to the Prince and people
 to vvhom the iniurie is done. Neyther
 dothe the Soueraignes authoritie and cō
 mandement excuse the souldiars or sub
 iectes, vvho can not in conscience, nor
 maye not be executours by their service
 of their princes knowē iniquitie, owin
 geuer obedience to God more then to
 any mā: though vvhere the iniustice of
 the vvarres is not so assuredli known
 to the subiectes, they might vpon their
 Princes varrant and commandement
 serve in the same.

But now that the vvarres of the low
 countryes on the English parte be most
 iniuste, not onely such as be in consciēce
 catholike (for other causes which after
 warde I wil rehearse) doe most plainly
 see: but euen those also which ar not wel
 instructed in religiō, endued onely with
 good nature, reason, and ciuil honestie,
 must

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must needs confesse: whereby it will be plain, that neyther the one sorte, of civillence, nor the other, of morall iustice can lawfully serve in the sayed warres. The warre is iuste sayeth *Cicero* in his booke *De Republ.* as *Isidorus* citeth it, which is denoūced for recōpēce, or revēg of iniuries and ānoyāce, or for defence against enemyes. The Queene of England, as all the world knoweth can make no iust claime to Hollāde, Zelāde, or any other of those partes, which by armes she hath seized on, all those provīces beinge cōfessed to be his catholike Maiesties auncient and vndoutfull inheritaunce: therefore that waye she can have no pretēce to invade those cōūtryes. The defence of the Kinges rebelles against their most iust lorde and Soueraine is no lawful, nor honorable quarrell of warres: neyther have the sayed traytours and rebelles any authoritye to yelde vppe their Soueraignes townes and portes in to his enemyes handes, or thē selves to the English protectiō, or subiectiō. Rebelles againste their law

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full Powers, be not properly the confederates, or *Socij*, of any Prince, or cōmon wealth, that for their defence armes may be takē. The kinges maiestie hath done to the quene or her realme no such iniuries, for redresse or revēge whereof he should by hostilitie enter into his dominiōs, and surprise his townes and castles, and bringe his people into her subiectiō. Neyther those causes, nor any other pretēses beīge sufficiēt to make her warr lawfvl, but all plaine profes of most iniuste quarel, it muste needes be evidēt to eche resonable mā, of what sense in religiō so ever he be, followinge onely mortall vertue, and the lawe of nature, and nations: that as well this warre by lāde in the lowe countryes, as that other by seas, be nothinge els but a publike robbery, and pyracie: in both which not onely the prince, or her principal ministers the Erle of Leicester, and Frāces Drake, but all other that serve in eyther of the sayed armyes or any such lyke, offēd God dānably, and are bounde to restore to the kinge catho-
like and

and his people, all that euer they haue
 shal by this iniuste violence extorte from
 them. It is not the pretence of the Que-
 nes counsell, or realmes publicke allowing
 or permitting these thinges, that can
 excuse them before God or man, eyther
 in conscience or honour: for iniustice
 done by publicke pretended authoritie,
 is more shamful, then that which is done
 by private offenders, S. Augustin affir-
 ming, that whole kingdomes when they
 agree vpon open iniquitie, are nothinge
 els but a great laronage, that is a brother
 hoode of theeues, concurring and conspi-
 ringe in common robberye. *Quid sunt
 regna (sayeth he) remota iustitia, nisi ma-
 gna latrocinia?*

Bib. 4. Ci
 uitat. c. 4.

The iudg-
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 nes of Lo-
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 cerninge
 the like
 vvarres.

I remember tvvo of the best learned
 diuines in Louaine being demaunded of
 the lavvfullnes of the Duke of Alen-
 nes late like actions in those countryes
 and of the obligatiō of that othe vvhich
 he caused the people to make againste
 their tru lorde and maister to him: an-
 vvered, and putte forth the their answer
 in pri-

in printe, that warre to be vvholy vnlau-
 full, and all othes and promises made
 to him to be of them selves vniuste, and
 not to binde any man eyther in honour
 or conscience, and yet that prince might
 perchance seeme to have some better
 pretence, vpon I can not tell what olde in-
 terest that Fraunce challenged in Flan-
 ders, and other those provinces, which
 were vnited and ioyned with Fran-
 ce, and of some hope he had, and gave
 to many to reduce those countreyes to li-
 bertye, at leaste of catholike conscience
 againe. But this English action hath no
 apparance of iustice or equitie in the
 world, and therefore to any gentleman,
 or souldiar that standeth vpon his honour
 (as that state of men of all other haue
 most reason to doe) it must needes be
 a great disgrace to serve in suche publike
 robberyes, eyther by sea or lande: which
 I saye to all noble Capitaines or souldiars
 of what religion soeuer they be, vvhom
 maye easilye perceiue by conference of
 our olde English honorably denounced

Vvarres

varres with these of our dayes, and other varres havinge bene vvaged by our countrie these thyrtye yeares almost then in the cloke of amitye, to surpris the toynes and countreyes of their frendes and confederates, and for the defence or encouragement of detestable rebelles against their lawfull annoynted kinges.

**They help
the Scott-
ish rebel-
les.**

As sone as the Scottes rebelled against their Quene, the English ioyned their forces, to the vtter ruine and destruction of both her, and her dominion.

**The French
rebelles.**

They rebelled against their kinges in France: our English helpes and armes were streight redy to succour them, and to seaze vpon the stronge places of that land, in their owne, or the rebelles behalves. They rise in the lowe countreyes and in other partes of the world against the iustest power that can be: and immediately as though our countrie were ordained to be the buckler of all rebellion and iniustice, and an enemye of lawfull dominyon and superioritye, the Quene thinketh yt honorable, or needefull, to

**The Flemish
rebelles.**

pro

protecte the sayed rebelles, and to assaye
with the wicked traytours, and sediti-
ous persons, the oldest, faythfullest, and
greatest confederate, that euer our real-
me had.

When therefore our English warres
that in other ages were so renoumed
for iustice, fortitude, and felicitye, are
become to be so infamous, and infortu-
nate through the worlde, as made for
the patronage of rebellious, and seditious
persons, and maintenaunce only of iniu-
stice and iniquitye, who cannot of verye
morall reason and honestye perceiue, his
good name and honour to be stayned by
cooperation in such infamous actions:
and his soule to be in dawnger of eter-
nal perdition, by following and executing
other mennes most vnlawfull and bar-
berous designementes, to the disturbance
of the quyet and weale of all Christi-
an nations rownde about vs? or thinke
ye not a most glorious resolution to re-
volte to that syde, which with al true ho-
nour and iustice, and all condition of

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lawful warres doe stande? of such I speake
 of our countrymen, in whom is yet left
 some remorte of conscience, or respect
 of iustice, necessarie for humane soci-
 ety, though by these euill tymes, and
 error of education at home, they be not
 wel instructed yet in Christiā religiō, and
 vertu. For of others (as I feare some suche
 be in the atheisme that our cōtrye is fallē
 into,) that haue put of al sence of ciuile
 iustice, honour, and honestye, together
 with the feare of God, and his iudgemēt
 in the next lyfe, I can saye no hynge.

Atheistes
 of Ingland

In this sorte some suche maye be, not
 onely amonge priuate poore souldiars,
 but of the counsellours of our countrye,
 that without respecte of eyther Chris-
 tian discipline, or olde heathen obser-
 uation in this case, which was euer
 most sacred: thinke, *Regna esse occupan-*
tium, kingedomes to be rightely theirs
 that can catche them, and all their owne
 they can eyther by machevilian shyftes,
 or violent armes obtayne: that regarde
 not the olde honour, rule, and discipline
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of chivalrye: that feare not the compta-
 they have to make, for the bloude of in-
 nocentes, for sackages, spoyles, rapines,
 destructions, depopulations, and sub-
 version of whole kingedomes: that think
 it cause of warre good ynough, to hinder
 their neyghbours greatnes, and so di-
 sturb other mennes quietnesse, to procu-
 re their owne peace and safetye. If eyther
 I say, our countrie (once of notable na-
 me in martial iustice,) or any of our soul-
 diars be come to this extremitye to deale
 with such, eyther by humaine, or diuine
 lawes, were *cum ratione insanire*, as the
 Poete sayed: and these sieme onely to
 make their prayer in the morening da-
 yely, as we have hearde of a certeyn ho-
 ly theef in the borders. Good Lorde
 sende me to hurte manye this daye, and
 none to hurte me.

But nowe to come to those that in the
 Cāpe be catholikes, as I perceive by you
 Sir, and otherwise, that very many be in
 their hartes fully resolued, our forfathers
 sayth to be only true, & that innumerable

This that
 follow-
 eth is spe-
 cially to
 be noted
 of catho-
 likes,

at home also in our countrye, doe daylye more and more perceiue, that these newe sectes were but to make broyle, and garboyle in the worlde, that in the vniuersal shuffling of thinges, poore losse companyons might haue their partes, yea and other mennes partes too.

To suche therefore as be by Gods speciall gifte catholically bent, it shal be an easier matter to make cleare this poynte. for as they be more capable of reason, and more obseruate of ciuile iustice, and morall vertue: so they haue their consciences better enformed by the rules of christian religion for goverment of their actions in al partes of lyfe: suche maye easelye perceiue, not onely for the causes afore sayed, this warre of the English syde to be iniuste, and that the service in the same is sinfull, dishonorable, and obnoxious to restitution: but principally, for that it is vvaged for defence of heresy and heretikes, and for the eversion of the catholike fayth, that is to saye, directly against God and his holy church.

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The holy prophete of God that reprehended Kinge Iosaphat for givinge succours, of amitye onely, and not of euill meaninge in religiō, to the vicked kinge Achab, sayeinge : *Impio prebas auxilium, & iis qui oderunt Dominum, amicitia iungis, idcirco iram Dei merebaris*. Thou giuest ayde to the vicked, and art confederat vvith suche as hate our Lorde, therefore thou deservedst Gods ire.

2. Parah. 19.
Vide August. lib. 2.
contra ep.
Parmeniam.

What vvould he have sayed, or vvhat maye vve deeme of the Quenes confederacyes, onely and allwayes vvith Christes enemyes : as vvith the Ghewes, Hugonots, and Calvinistes in Flaunders, Fraunce, Scotlande, vvith most ample succoures continually yelded to euery of them for destruction of christian religion? In vvich not onely vnlawful, but sacrilegious vvarres, all men of conscience must consider, that all Coronels, Capitaines, and soldiours, that in this case serve the Quene, and heretikes, are partakers of their iniquitye, cooperators vvith them in all their sinnes, executors

Note diligently.

of the hereticall princes sentēce, against
 their owne catholike and innocent bre-
 thern, fautours, and defenders of hereti-
 kes, and so by the cēsūre of holy church
 incurre excommunication, a most pi-
 tyfull and dāgerous state for a christian
 man to live, or dye in. They must marke
 what an infinite miserie it is, for a noble
 and couragious harte (as lightly those
 men of best seruice be) that with their
 sworde and armes, the wicked only
 should be protected, and the innocēt de-
 stroyed, churches despoyled, Gods pries-
 tes and seruantes murdered, the blessed
 sacramētes prophaned, yea euē the dread
 souerainge holyes of christes owne body
 and bloude. What death should not a
 true catholike knyght suffer, rather than
 to see such horrible wickednesse com-
 mitted? and to remayne in such base ser-
 uitude of herisie, and of her dishonorable
 defenders, as with their owne hādes to be
 ministers of such sacrilegious impietye:
 and which is yet more pityefull, that one
 catholike mā should be brought to beate
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and destroye an other, that so in fine eue
ry one may be the instrumēt of his own
destruction. In their ciuile gouernement
at home, they cause the catholik iudge to
giue sentēce of death against catholique
priestes, whose innocēcie they knowe,
and whose religiō in hart they beleue to
be true: they make one catholike neygh-
bour to accuse an other, and one noble
mā to condēne an other. In their warres
they serue thē selues of catholikes, and by
English catholikes they destroy catholi-
kes abroad, that forreign catholikes beinge
overthrowen they may more easily ouer-
throwe their owne at home. Alas for my
deere brethern, alas for our desolate con-
trye, which no noble harte cā now serue
eyther in polytike, or marcial matters, but
vpō such detestable cōditiōs of assured dā-
natiō, & in fine to their owē vtter ruin in
this lyfe, & the next of al mē in the world
the souldiar should most specially attend
to his cōscience, and stande vpō good &
sure groudes for the iustice of the quar-
rel he hath in hāde, beinge howrely more

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an other.

A souldiar
of al o-
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need to
be most
carefull
of his cō-
science.

Notevvel

We must
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God to o
beye anie
prince.

Augustin,
serm 6 de
ver. dom.

subiect to death, and danger, then any o
ther kinde of men, and most assured, that
yf he dye in any knowen euill cause, and
namely in this fight against God, and de
fence of heritikes, he is doubtelesse to be
damned for euer: as contrarye vwise to
dye in lawfull vvarres for defence of ius
tice, is euer full of hope, and for defence
of true religion, and Gods honour, in
most cases plaine martyrdome. Let no
christian conscience excuse or flatter yt
self in this case, vpon the princes com
mandement, or the superiours authori
tye, or vpon the danger of disobeying the
Quenes lawes: no mortall creature ha
vinge lawfull power to commande, nor
any subiecte bounde or permitted to o
bey, in matter directly against God In
which case a man must say to his prince
vvith S. Augustin, *Tu minaris carcerem,*
Deus gehennā. Thou threatenest prison,
God threateneth hell. And as it is vn
decent for any christian for feare of man
to offend God, so it is most disagreeable
to the manly courage, and constancie of
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christian catholike souldiar, for feare of death or dawnger whatsoener, to enter into so damnable, and dishonorable a service, or to fight or dye in a cause, contrary to his owne conscience.

Besides al this, to serve in an heretical cause, and vnder hereticall capitaynes, catholikes are enforced to heare continual blasphemies of all saintes, and sacramentes, to be present at the wicked sermons, and prophane service of the heretics, which is no lesse damnable, then it was in olde tyme for such as served the heathen emperours, to committe idolatry by sacrificinge to idols: for refusinge of which abomination, and in particular for disobeyinge the Emperour Maximinus his commaudemēt therein the famous Coronell S. Mauritius, with the whole legion of Thebes, sustained most glorious martyrdome, as diuers others did vnder Iuliā the Apostata, and the like: and many noble souldiars, for that they could not exercise their christian vsages, partly were driuen to abandō
their

An other
inconueni
ence in ser
uinge of
heretikes.

S Maurice
vvith the
legion of
Thebes.

Euseb. li. 8
ca. 3. et ↵

their professiō in displeasur of their princes, and partely were licēsed to departe: as may appeare by a decree in the holy Coūcell of Nice, where it is forbiddē to christian souldiars so licēsed, to retourne to theise prophaine warres againe. For that is the meaninge, when the Fathers vpon great spirituall payne cōmanded, that none should *resumere cingulū militare*, that is, put on the girdle militare againe, that for suche a cause had once left it. And surely, yf there were nothing els but this, that the Catholike souldiar being howrely in peril of death, cā have no sacrament, nor sacramētall for his finnes, nor any conforte of conscience, nor succour for his soule in the worlde, it must needes be the most miserable condition that can be thought of.

Now to be relieued of this deadly calamitye and distresse of cōscience, after a mā is once by error or misfortune entered in to the same, there is no waye but to forsake that iniustād irreligious cause, and to retire to that part, where a man may
serue

serve with iustice, honour, greate reward
in this lyfe, and sure hope of saluatiō. And
no doubt but most happie be thole gētle-
men that haue this occasiō and cōmoditie
offered thē by God, to make amēdes for
their former error, as wel by seruing of
the church, wiche before they impugned,
as by renderinge vp the places which
they (though not of malice) yet by other
meanes vniust appoyntement did from
the true lordes and owners detayne.

Yea I say more vnto you gētemē, seinge
you desire to knowe my meaninge fully
in this poīnt: that as al actes of iustice with
in the realme done by the Quenes autori-
tye euer since she was by publike sentēce
of the church and sea Apostolike decla-
red an heritike, and an enimie of Gods
church, and for the same by name excō-
municated, and deposed frō al regal digni-
tie, as I saye euer sithēce the publication
thereof, all is voyde by the lawe of God
and mā: so lykewise no warre can be law-
fully denouced or waged by her, though
otherwise in yt self yt were most iust.
because

An other
cause
why the
warres of
the quene
be not
lawful.

Note

A person
excommunicate can
not lawfully de-
nounce
vvarres.

Causa 15.
quest. 6.

because that is the first condition that is required in a iust warre, that it be by one denounced, that hath lawfull and supreme power to doe the same, as no excommunicat person hath, especially yf he be withall deposed from his regall dignitie by Christe his vicare, which is the supreme power in earthe, and his subiectes not onely absolved and discharged of their service, othe, homage, and obedience, but specialli forbidden to serve or obeye any suche canonically condemned person. Nos (saith Gregorie the seventh) *Sanctorum predecessorum nostrorum Statuta tenentes, eos qui excommunicatis fidelitate aut sacramento constricti sunt, Apostolica auctoritate à sacramento absolvimus, & ne eis fidelitatem obseruent, omnibus modis prohibemus.* that is, we accordinge to our predecessours decrees, doe assoyle and discharge all them, that by obligaciō of othe or fidelitye are bound to persons excommunicate: and that they doe not obaye such we doe expressly forbid. And for their discharge especially that serve

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he was a
be kept
to God
and con
The
more,
sense o
you th

true such in warres, there is an expresse
 canon of Vrbanus ij. *Iuratos milites Hu-*
gum Comiti, ne ipsi, quamdiu excommunica-
ti sunt, seruiant, prohibeto: qui si sacramen-
ta praterderint, moneantur, oportere Deo
magis seruire, quam hominibus. Fidelitatem
quam Christiano Principi iurauerunt,
Dei, eiusq; Sanctis aduersanti, & eorum pra-
epa calcanti, nulla cohibentur auctoritate
 resoluere, which is thus in our tounge,
 Give order that the sworne souldiars of
 Countie Hugo serve him not, so longe as
 he standeth excommunicate: and yf
 they pretende their former othe made
 unto him, admonishe them, that God is
 to be served before men: and that the
 othe which they made to him the when
 he was a Christian prince, is not now to
 be kept towards him: being an enemy
 to God, and his Sainctes, and a breaker
 and contemner of their cōmandementes.

These fewe, as I mighte doe much
 more, I alledge, that you maye see the
 sense of the catholike church, which to
 you that be the children of the same, will
 be a full

Vbi sup

Note still
 gentle.

be a full warrant for all your actions, and
 a guyde for al gentlemen, and persons of
 rightly enformed cōsciences, how to be-
 have them selves, whē not onely the war-
 res are for religion, but when any exco-
 mūicate or Canonically condēned prin-
 ce is one partye, whom no man by lawe
 can serue, nor give ayde vnto, but he fal-
 leth into excomūication. And therefore
 when S. Aug. writeth, that sometymes it
 falleth out that a iust man may serue a
 wicked and sacrilegious kinge in the
 warret, for obediēce to his superiour, so
 that nothinge be commāded him playnly
 against Gods preceptes, especiall excep-
 tion is made in kinges excommunicated:
 who differ in this case in respecte of ser-
 vice and obediēce of their subiectes: and
 are in a worle predicament, then anye
 ther heathen or iniuste prince or Poten-
 tate whoſoeuer: yea, thē Iulianus the apo-
 stata himself, whom to serue in iust war-
 res and causes, christian souldiars were
 not by the church then prohibited, but
 onely were as wel by the lawe of God, as
 thi

Note.

Lib. 22.
 contra
 faust. cap.
 74. & 75.

causa 23.
 quest. 1.

causa. 11.
 quest. 3.
 cap. 10.
 Iulianus.

the church
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the church, forbiddē to serve him in any warre or work against Christe, and christians, or when he wēt about to destroye the true religion. But where for defectiō from the sayth or other enormityes not tollerable, the sentēce of excōmunicatiō and depositiō is also adioyned, there can neyther be lawfull warres, nor any dutye of seruice in the same alloweable. **Note.**

So great a crime it is in a Prince, that is exalted by God to administer iustice, to defende Christes church, and the saythfull people therof, and taketh a solemne corporall othe at his coronatiō, by his word and might to obserue and maintayne the lawes and priuileges of holy church, and all prerogatives graunted by his predecessours to the same, and to honour the byshoppes and cleargye of his realme: afterward neglecting his othe, promise and vocation, to bend all his power to destroye Gods religion, church, and preistres, and to become an open rebell to the sea Apostolike, and an enemye to all humane societie.

Hovve
heynouse
a crime it
is for a
Prince to
falle from
the church
of
God.

This

This then being the miserable condition of such princes, as be cutt of by the churches censures from the fellowship of the faithfull: you maye see, what a dishonorable thinge it is for men of honour or honestie to strue by armes, for the vpholding of them, whom God by his iust iudgementes, and the churches sentence dothe putt downe: and therewith perceiue, that those that breake with God, canot cleame any bonde of othe or fidelitie of them that were their subiectes: and least of all, of christian knyghtes and gentlemen of armes, the principal institution and profession of all such noble orders, being for defence of the true catholike and Apostolike faith, and to be sworne aduersaries and persecutours of God enymies, the crosse and cognisance they weare protestinge the same: as contrariwise no heritike can be a lawfull souldiar, but by the imperiall and Canon lawes is to be degraded of militare dignitye, and armes, and to be spoyled of his militare girdle, as they then spake. For here;

Note this
point.

The duty
of a christ-
ian knight.

Liberius
epist 1. ad
Athanasium

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herysie maketh a mā by al Christiā lawes infamous, and voydeth him of all degrees and titles of honour, amonge which militare order is: and of olde tyme was so great, that every man of armes was capable of the imperial soueraigntye.

Therefore as in yeldinge vp the places iniustly possessed, you did an acte of restitution, and iustice, so (Gētlemen) in forsakinge the warres of the other tyde, for so many respectes as I have sayed dishonorable, vnlawfull, and damnable, you have done doubtlesse agreeably to your christiā knyghthoode, and an acte much renoumed in al these partes of the best and wisest of all degrees: and the same that you have done, al other of honour, cōscience, and religion of our countrie are bound to doe, as well in this warre, as in al other, which either at home, or abroad, is waged for, or againste religion.

After kinge Saul was by God and the prophetes sentence as it were excomunicated, and deposed, it was no fault for Dauid or others eyther of the preistes or people, to reuolt from him, nor for the

1. Regum
16. & 17.

4. Reg. 11.

4. Reg. 18.

4. Reg. 5.

2. Paral.

12.

4. Reg. 6.

Worthie Capitaine Abner to reuolte frō
Saules sonne, that claimed the kingdome
by the pretended right of his father: nor
for any other Capitaines or Soldiars of
Sauls lyde now deposed, to render vp al
they had in their gouermētes to king Da
uid & his posteritie. It was no crime, but
great cōmendation for Ioiada the highe
priest to reuolte frō the vsurping Quene
Athalia, nor for others to doe the same
against wicked kinge Achab, and cursed
Iezabel: nor to see permit and procure
them for their impietie condingly pun
ished, wherevnto the verie preistes and
prophetes of God did by counsel and en
couragement cooperate. In which case
we may see for our instructiō, not onely
townes vniustely detained to be restored
to the true Lordes: but an impious kinges
owne countries also and cities, lawfully
by reuolt of the people yelded vp to o
ther mennes handes: as the scriptures doe
recorde of the cōtries and cities of Edom
and Lobna, which reuolted from kinge
Ioram, and from the dominion of Iuda
for euer, yelding this cause thereof, *Deret*

queral

quod enim Dominum Deum Patrum suorum.
 For (sayeth the holy storie) he had forsaken the God of his forefathers. To forsake them that forsake God, is most lawful, honorable, and necessarie: as contrariwise to serue or defend the, whom God by the sentence of his high prieste and tribunal in earth hath pulled doune, and wil haue punished, is to fyght against God, and to resist his ordinance.

And I praye you Gentlemen (to giue you domestical examples,) what disgrace or shame was it for all the chief Lordes of our cuntry to reuolt from kinge Ihon in his dayes, and absolutly to denie him ayde and assistance, euen in his lawefull warres, till he retourned againe to the obedience of the sea Apostolike, and was absolved from the censures of the same which he had iustely incurred? Or for the English Nobilitie, and specially for the renoumed Stanley, one of this S^r William Stanley his house, and name, to reuolt from Kinge Richarde the tyrant, and to yelde him self, and his charge to Henry the vij?

Examples
 of our
 ovre
 contrie.
 Kinge
 Ihon for-
 sake.

Richarde
 the third
 laweful-
 ly forsa-
 ken.

lane the
usurper
forsaken.

What dishonour was it for the nobilitye of
Englād in our memories to forsake lane the
pretéded Quene, and the Duke of Northū-
berland, the father of him whom now ye
haue forsaken, and to yeld the towre co-
mitted to their custodie. and the selues, to
the lawfull and most religious Quene Marie
not withstanding what vniust bádes of othe
or promite to euer they had made by
seare and pusillanimitye, to the layed vsur-
per, and hereticall Quene lane before?

In al these and the like there is nether sinne
nor shame, nor scādall cōmitted. For that to
revolt is of it self lawfull, or vnlawfull, ho-
norable, or otherwyle, accordinge to the
iustice, or iniustice of the cause, or differēce
of the person from or to whom the revolt
is made: wherein when the right from the
wronge is euident, and in the Capitaines or
soldiars conscience, and in all godly men-
nes sight cleare and vndoubted, there nee-
deth no more disculping of the matter. To
cōclude breifly. In these warres, ad al others
that maye at any tyme happen for religion
against heretikes, or other infidels, every
catholike man is bound in cōscience, to en-
forme

Howe
catholikes
should
en forme
their con-
sciēces for
the iustice
of the
warres

forme him self for the iustice of the cause,
the which when it is doubtfull or toucheth
religion (as is said) he ought to imploye
his person and forces, by direction of such
as are vertuous and intelligent in suche ca-
ses, but especially of the general pastour of
our soules, beinge Christes vicare in earth,
whose souerainge power and authoritie
derived from Christ him self, may best in-
structe and warrāt a christiā touldiar, how
farre, when, and where, eyther at home or
abroade, in ciuile or forraine warres, made
against the enimies or rebelles of Godes
church he maye and must breake with his
temporal soueraigne, and obeye God, and
his spiritual superior.

Against (gentilmen) by this your retiringe
your selues from the seruice of Gods, and
the churches enimies, yow haue not onely
provided wel for your cōsciences, honour,
and saluation, but also for the encrease of
your knowelege and experience in arte
militaire, and of the exacte order and disci-
pline to be obserued in the same, beinge
now to serue vnder so vertuous, valerous,
fortunate, famous, and victorious a general

Other com-
modities
of their
retyring
to the kin-
ges ser-
uice.

(the Duke of Parma,) as hath had few
 peeres in these latter ages : and in com-
 panye of so many valiant and experte Ca-
 pitanes, and souldiares, of diuerse nacion
 as no where in Europe better can be
 founde : which your selues (my maisters)
 maye more easely cōsider , by comparing
 your late generall my Lorde of Lece-
 ster his ignoble and infamous factes , vnto
 the glorious exploytes & renowned vic-
 tories atchieued by the Duke of Parma
 his Highnesse : or the disorder of the En-
 glish irreligious and licentious companyes
 to the orderlie discipline of the Catholike
 Camp: betwene which I doubt not but you
 finde a merueilous difference, and shal doe
 dayely more and more to your great
 contentment.

A necessa-
 ry con-
 sideration.

Would God by your honorable exam-
 ple, al others our deceiued Countrymen
 would beginne to thinke earnestly , how
 to discharge them selues of that danger-
 rous and infamous seruice of heretikes,
 and rebelles , and render themselues into
 this most iust Godly course , that you are
 happely

happely entred into: which they should
rather speedily resolue vpon, for that
they cannot be so ignorant of the tymes
past, or the presente dayes but they
needes haue marked, how God him-
self fighteth for the iuste causes of his Ca-
tholike Maieesty, and generally for all Ca-
tholike armies againste heritikes, and re-
bels.

Wise men haue noted, that though
God for our sinnes hath suffered, and
will dothe permitte heritikes to keepe
greate broyles in all partes almost of
the worlde for a tyme, yet he euer
hath putte them in fine to confusion,
winninge the victorie lightly in al bat-
tles and encounters to the Catholikes,
and that oftentimes very miraculouslye
defeatinge (as in the warres of the
Machabees, and els where in oldet-
me) greate numbers with a very fewe,
and for one Catholike, a thousand heriti-
kes slayne, and many glorious victories
obteyned without any bloudshedde.

God gi-
ueth the
victorie
euer to
catholikes

For Luther and Zuinglius his tyme, I re-
 ferre you to the recordes of Germany and
 Suizerlâde, which set down the overthrowes
 of heretiques in the fielde. The fightes
 in Frâce, where the catholikes euer have
 hadde also the victorie, be in all our me-
 mories maruelous. But of all others, those
 of Flaunders are most memorable, where
 besydes the cōflictes of Groeninge, Mose,
 Mōtes, at Antwerpe, at Gemblow, and di-
 uerse the like, in euery of which, the lorde
 God of hostes mercifully fightinge for his
 owne cause, and the catholike kinges right
 veri smale numbers of catholikes, without
 any losse of men in a maner, slewe and de-
 feated many thousandes of well appointed
 souldiars. The same most iust God of reuēg
 hath notoriousslie putte to rebuke and cō-
 fusion al such forces and succours, as came
 to ayde his enemies, and somtymes by his
 iust iudgement hath brought thē to ruine
 even by those same heritikes and rebelles
 that called for thē, and for whose protec-
 tion they came vnto that countrie, as we
 have seen both in the case of the Almaine
 and Frêche succoures. And the lyke luck
 seemeth

D'ners
 vnblou-
 dy victo-
 ries giue
 to the
 kinge ca-
 tholike in
 these
 warres.

God hath
 destroyed
 all the he-
 ritikes par-
 takers mi-
 raculoussly

cometh to approche vnto our English
 forces, except our lorde (which I hartely
 praye for) calle them frō that iniust and in-
 famous seruice of heritikes, who hauinge
 the perpetual curse of Chriite and his holy
 church lyenge heauely vpon them, cā no
 more escape speedy destructiō, then others
 who vnluckely haue followed that syde,
 haue done before them. Which I speake of
 with love and compasſion of my deare
 contrymen, beinge assured, that yf they pe-
 rish in bodye, (as it is to be thought they
 shal doe in that seruice) they shal lose their
 soules also euerlastingly, and shal eternally
 curse them that ledde and forced them out
 of their countrie to so certaine perdition.
 Let not the memorye of the olde English
 notorious battailes and victories which in
 olde tyme were cōparable to what prouin-
 ces or peoples were most famous, nor
 the steeme or opiniō eyther true or partial
 of their present strēgth and courage in Ing-
 land make them obstinate in so dāgerous
 and doubtfull state of thinges: Let them
 not flatter them selues, nor be abused by o-
 thers, it goeth not wholly nor principally
 nor

Anecessa-
 ry admoe-
 tion to
 our coun-
 trymen

nor often tymes at all by the strength or
might of mānes arme, if they were as they
pretend, but God striketh the stroke, and
giueth the victory according to his diuine
disposition to the worthy, and to such as
serue him, put their truste in him, and con-
fesse with the prophete, *quod non in gladio
suo, sed in brachio & dextera Domini posside-
runt terram, & expulerunt inimicos.*

Psalm. 43

2. Reg. 25.

By vvhāt
meanes
our prin-
ces beca-
me of old
to victo-
rious.

1. 2. 3.

When our Princes did *praelari pralia
Domini*, fight the fightes of our lorde, (as
holy writte saieth of Dauid, beinge in ar-
mes against kinge Saul then depriued) and
their subiectes and souldiars serued and
feared God, reuerenced his priestes, had
their cōfessors with them in Campe, daily
hearde masse deuoutly, adored the blessed
Sacramēt, called on Christe, and his holye
Angelles, and sainctes, and the special pa-
trōs of their persons, or countrie, for their
defence, liued in marcial discipline, order,
and obedience, religiously (accordinge to
S. Ihon Baptistes rule, giuē to men of that
cōdition) absteyning from rape and violēce
towards the innocent, combatinge onely
for their sayth, or their countries right
then

both amōgest the infidels, & heathē, & amōge their Christiā neighbors, their fights were famous, their conquestes glorious, & the English armes redoubted in all places: but now hauing forsaken God, and God forsaken thē: when they take no quarrell in hande, but for the dishonorable defence of rebelles, pyrates, and infidels: when their Princes are become *socii furū, & quasi rapientes prædam*, Cōpagnions of thieves, and rauenous wolues, and publik enemies of al true kinges, & lawfull dominion, keeping fidelitie neither with God, nor with mā, though they were as stronge and valiant, as euer they were, and of prouder conceits of their owne courage, and conninge, then at this daye they pretend, yet God wil confounde them, and his angelles persecute thē, & such a feare wil be putt into their hartes, that they shal fly when no man persecuteth thē, & a thousande shal runne away before the face of one catholike that fighteth for Gods church.

These thinges, my deare cōtrimē, you haue eyther seen with your owne eyes, or by assured faithfull testimonie of others haue

heard to

Note.

Ez-chiel
cap. 22.

to haue fallen in all these warres of Flanders, and shal dayly proue it by your owne experience to be most true, that no humaine strength or desperation can match God: and that it neuer fell wel with him, that opposeth him self to Christe and his holy church. Of which church the prophet playnely sayeth, *Geni & Regnum quod tibi non seruerit, peribit*, The Nation or kingdom that serueth not thee shal perishe.

Now in such euident and imminent danger of destruction and death as wel of bodye as soule, to al such as follow these new English quarrelles, it were bootelesse to putt you in minde of the impossibilitie of aduancemēt by those warres, what so euer your successe be, your selues hauinge dayely experience of the intollerable distresses both there and at home, and howe shamefully they which were the authors of such warres, and now are the cheif leaders of the same, haue abused al sortes of our cōtremen, enforcing mani a gentleman and subltāial person to serue of their own charges, and to spoyle them selues at home in hope of their enrichinge abroade: who

nowe

Waye cap.
60.

No aduancement
by English
warres
their.

The miseries of the
same

we finding al thinges cōtrari to promise
 and expectatiō, as so entāgled, that they ney
 ther dare goe home for feare of hanging,
 nor can wel endure these miseries abrode
 for feare of dyeinge shamfully and misera-
 bly in forrain countries: nothing being left
 for their reliefe indeed in this perplexitie,
 but only to doe that (if they haue grace)
 which you hau: both wisely, Godly, and
 honorably done, preseruing your soules for
 life and glorie euerlastinge, and your per-
 sons for the seruice of our church, and con-
 trye, in better tynes to come. In the meane
 while to occupie the fortitude and forces
 of your bodie, and minde, (which are Gods
 special giftes, as S. Aug. sayeth) in the ser-
 uice of the almightie, and of the greatest
 and iustest Monarche in the world, vnder
 a General so peareles, who can, and wil, ac-
 cordinge to the worthynesse of your cou-
 rage, cōdition, and qualities aduaunce you,
 and bestowe you in such places of seruice,
 where you maye encrease in honour, and
 knoweledge, and so be in tyme when it
 shal please God to haue mercie of our deso-
 late contrye, not onely restorers of olde
 mili-

militare vertu and disciplin in the same: but
 be notable helpers by the valerous arme of
 your christiā knyghthoode to reduce our
 people to the obediēce of Christes church
 and deliuer our catholike freendes and bre
 theren from the dānable and vntollerable
 yoke of heresye, & hir most impure leaders.
 It is now some yeares agoe, si the a gētle mā
 and Capitaine, of good accōpt, wished, &
 (to saye the trueth) conferred earnestly
 with me about it, that as we had certayne
 Seminaries and Colledges for preservation
 or restitutio of the cleargie, whē the tyme
 shold come to serue God in our cōtrie, like
 wise there were some cōpanyes of English
 souldiars also, to be trayned vppe in Catho
 like and olde Godly militare discipline, for
 the helpe of our said contrye: which thing
 being honorably begonne by diuers noble
 gētle mē before, so I trust God hath brought
 to passe in you now, that it shalbe finished
 to the vniuersal cōfort of vs al, & the great
 good and hope of our natiō: for redresing
 the euils w hereof, it is as lawful, Godly and
 glorious for you to fight, as for vs priests to
 suffer, and to dye. Eyther the one waye, or

A nource
 rye of ca
 tholike
 souldiars.

other, for defence of our fathers say the
 wayes in the fight of God a most pre-
 cious deathe, and martyrdome.

And great comfort truly it is to me, and
 hope to our poore countrie, that in this our
 solation, our merciful lorde hath left vs
 in both sortes: and that I may truely
 say the wordes of S. Aug. to countye Bo-
 rac: *Alij pro vobis orando pugnant contra*
inuisibiles inimicos, vos pro eis pugnat is cōtra
hostes Barbaros God (I sayeth he) giueth his
 grace diuersly, others by prayers fight for
 against your inuisible enemies, and you
 fight for thē against vifible heritikes, or (as
 he speaketh) against the Barberous: so good-
 thinge it is for the priest and souldiour
 to cocurre in the seruice of God, and their
 countrie together. But I forget my self,
 and am alredie paste the measure of a let-
 ter, therefor I wil here make an ende, and
 for the rest referre you to the good priestes
 to whom I haue giuen order in al thinges,
 and you shal find thē such, as for their zeale
 discretiō, learning & vertu shalbe agreable
 to your desire and expectatiō: whose holye
 labours, and all your honorable endeouours,

I be-

What
 merite it
 is to fight
 for the
 scyth.

Epistol
 207.

The prie-
 ste and
 souldiour
 should
 concur.

Vbi supra

I beseech almightie God to blesse: com-
 ding to you for a farewell this goodly re-
 of the laied holy Doctor S. Augustine
 worthy to be writtē in goulden letters
 euerie noble soldiours brest: *Hoc primum
 cogita, quando armatis ad pugnam, quia
 tua etiam corporalis donum Dei est, sed
 cogitabis, de dono Dei non facere contra Deum.*
 That is, when so euer thou art armed
 in readinesse for battaile, let this be thy first
 cogitation, that thy very corporal strength
 it self is the gifte of God, whereby thou
 shalt stil be put in minde, neuer to vse the
 gifte of God against God him self.
 gaue it thee. Fare you wel againe.
 comānd me in these matters that pertaine
 to my profession make no courtesie
 I am wholie yours, and al theirs, that followe
 the Catholike cause, and our countie.

At Rome the xx. of Iulye. 1587.

Your friend and seruant in Christ

William Allen

Vbi supra

I beseech almightie God to blesse: commending to you for a farewell this goodly ete of the laied holy Doctor S. Augustin worthy to be writte in goulden letters, on euerie noble soldiours brest: *Hoc primum cogita, quando armatis ad pugna, quia virtus tua etiam corporalis donum Dei est, sic enim cogitabis, de dono Dei non facere contra Deum* That is, when so euer thou art armed and in readinesse for battaile, let this be thy first cogitation, that thy veri corporal strenght it self is the gifte of God, whereby thou shalt stil be put in minde, neuer to vse the gifte of God against God him self, that gaue it thee. Fare you wel againe, and command me in these matters that pertain to my profession make no courtesie: for I am wholie yours, and al theirs, that seru the Catholike cause, and our countrie.

At Rome the xx. of Iulye. 1587.

Your friend and seruant in Christ
William Allen.

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